

Summary of PhD thesis¹

A grammar of Papuan Malay

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This contribution summarizes Kluge's (2014) *A grammar of Papuan Malay*, an in-depth linguistic description of one Papuan Malay variety.² This study is based on sixteen hours of recordings of spontaneous narratives and conversations between Papuan Malay speakers, recorded from a sample of about 60 different Papuan Malay speakers; in addition, an extended word list was recorded.

"Papuan Malay" refers to the easternmost varieties of Malay; they belong to the Malayic sub-branch within the Western-Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian language family. The Papuan Malay varieties are spoken in the coastal areas of West Papua, the western part of the island of New Guinea. The variety described here is spoken in the Sarmi area, which is located about 300 km west of Jayapura. Both towns are situated on the northeast coast of West Papua (see Map 1).

Papuan Malay is the language of wider communication and the first or second language for an ever-increasing number of people of the area; the

¹ The online publication of this thesis can be found at: <https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/handle/1887/25849>.

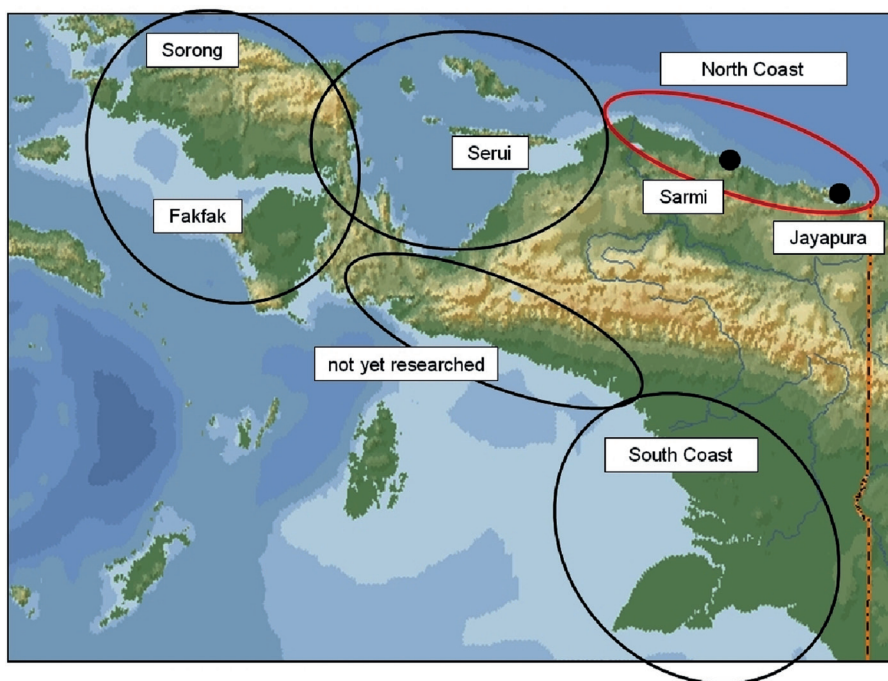
² Angela Kluge (2014, Utrecht: LOT).

ANGELA KLUGE obtained her Master of Physical Education from the Kölner Sporthochschule in 1983. She joined SIL International in 1988 and began her studies in linguistics and sociolinguistics. In 2001 she began working with SIL in Indonesia. After Indonesian studies at the University of Indonesia (Depok), she worked as a senior survey consultant, teaching, training, and mentoring language survey specialists. In 2003 she became a Senior Language Assessment Consultant with SIL International. She is also a reviewer of the SIL Electronic Survey Reports Series. Angela Kluge may be contacted at: angela_kluge@sil.org.

number of speakers is estimated to be by about 1,100,000 or 1,200,000. While Papuan Malay is not officially recognized, and therefore not used in formal government or educational settings or for religious preaching, it is used in all other domains, including unofficial use in formal settings, and, to some extent, in the public media.

After a general introduction to the language, its setting and its history, Kluge (2014) discusses the following topics, building up from smaller grammatical constituents to larger ones: phonology, word formation, noun and prepositional phrases, verbal and nonverbal clauses, non-declarative clauses, and conjunctions and constituent combining. Of special interest to linguists, typologists and Malay specialists are the following in-depth analyses and descriptions: affixation and its productivity across domains of language choice, reduplication and its *gesamtbedeutung*, personal pronouns and their adnominal uses, demonstratives and locatives and their extended uses, and adnominal possessive relations and their non-canonical uses.

Kluge's (2014) study provides a point of comparison for further studies in other (Papuan) Malay varieties and a starting point for Papuan Malay language development efforts.



Map 1. Papuan Malay varieties (based on Donohue [to appear: 1-2]; and Kim et al. [2007]).

In the following the chapters of Kluge's (2014) study are briefly summarized, followed in the Appendices by a sample of three texts. Chapter 1 provides an introduction to Papuan Malay. After general background information about the language in terms of its larger geographical and linguistic settings and its speakers, the history of the language is summarized. Next, the classification

of Papuan Malay and its dialects are discussed, followed by descriptions of its typological and its sociolinguistic profile. Previous research on Papuan Malay is summarized next, followed by a brief overview of available materials in Papuan Malay. The final section of this introductory chapter describes methodological aspects of the study.

Chapter 2 examines the phonology of Papuan Malay. The language has eighteen consonant phonemes and a basic five-vowel system. The consonant system consists of six stops, two affricates, two fricatives, four nasals, two liquids, and two approximants. The vowel system includes two front and two back vowels, and one open central vowel. Papuan Malay shows a clear preference for disyllabic roots and for CV and CVC syllables; the maximal syllable is CCVC. Stress typically falls on the penultimate syllable, although lexical roots with ultimate stress are also attested.

Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 discuss word formation processes in Papuan Malay. The language has very little productive morphology. Word formation is limited to the two derivational processes of affixation (Chapter 3) and reduplication (Chapter 4). Inflectional morphology is lacking, as nouns and verbs are not marked for any grammatical category such as gender, number, or case. There is also no voice system on verbs. Reduplication in Papuan Malay is a very productive morphological device for deriving new words. In terms of lexeme formation, three different types of reduplication are attested: full, partial, and imitative reduplication. The most common type is full reduplication, which involves the repetition of an entire root, stem, or word; bound morphemes are not reduplicated. Full reduplication usually applies to content words, although some function words can also be reduplicated. Partial and imitative reduplication are rare. The *gesamtbedeutung* of reduplication is “a HIGHER/LOWER DEGREE OF [...]” in the sense of augmentation and diminution. There is, however, no specific, one-to-one relation between the meaning aspects of the reduplicated lexemes and the syntactic class of the corresponding base words. Affixation in Papuan Malay has very limited productivity. This conclusion is based on an investigation of six affixes. Given the sociolinguistic profile of Papuan Malay (substantial language contact between Papuan Malay and Indonesian with both languages being in a diglossic distribution, ambivalent language attitudes toward Papuan Malay, and lack of language awareness) no productivity testing was conducted, as a substantial amount of interference from Indonesian was expected. This interference would have skewed testees’ naïve judgments. Instead, the six affixes were examined in terms of seven language internal and three language external factors considered relevant in establishing the degree of productivity of these affixes. Compounding (Chapter 3) is a third word-formation process; it remains uncertain, however, to what degree it is a productive process.

Chapter 5 discusses the Papuan Malay word classes. The main criteria for defining distinct word classes are their syntactic properties, due to the lack of inflectional morphology and the rather limited productivity of derivational patterns. Three open and a number of closed lexical classes can be

distinguished. The open word classes are nouns, verbs, and adverbs. The major closed word classes are personal pronouns, interrogatives, demonstratives, locatives, numerals, quantifiers, prepositions, and conjunctions. At the same time, however, Papuan Malay has membership overlap between a number of categories, most of which involve verbs. This includes overlap between verbs and nouns which is typical of Malay varieties and other western Austronesian languages. However, nouns, verbs, and adverbs have distinct syntactic properties which warrant their analysis as distinct word classes.

Three word classes are discussed in more detail, namely personal pronouns in Chapter 6 and demonstratives and locatives in Chapter 7. Chapter 6 deals with the Papuan Malay personal pronouns. The pronoun system distinguishes singular and plural numbers and three persons. In addition to signaling the person-number values of their referents they also signal their definiteness. Each pronoun has at least one long and one short form, with the exception of the second person singular pronoun. The use of the long and short forms does not mark grammatical distinctions but represents speaker preferences. The pronouns have pronominal and adnominal uses. In their pronominal uses, the pronouns substitute for noun phrases and designate speech roles. The long and short pronoun forms occur in all syntactic slots within the clause. Pronouns also occur in inclusory conjunction, summary conjunction, and appositional constructions. In their adnominal uses, the pronouns occur in post-head position and function as determiners. That is, signaling definiteness and person-number values, the pronouns allow the unambiguous identification of their referents. As determiners, the pronoun forms of all person-number values are employed, with the exception of the first person singular. “NP PRO” noun phrases with plural personal pronouns have two possible interpretations. With indefinite referents, they have an additive plural reading and with definite referents an associative inclusory reading.

Chapter 7 describes the Papuan Malay demonstratives and locatives. They are deictic expressions that provide orientation to the hearer in the outside world and in the speech situation, in spatial as well as in non-spatial domains. Both deictic systems are distance oriented, in that they signal the relative distance of an entity vis-à-vis a deictic center. At the same time, the two systems differ in a number of respects. They are distinct both in terms of their syntactic characteristics and forms and in terms of their functions. With respect to their syntactic properties, the demonstratives have a wider range of uses (adnominal, pronominal, and adverbial uses) than the locatives. Likewise, in terms of their functions, the demonstratives have a wider range of uses than the locatives. The locative system, by contrast, allows finer semantic distinctions to be made than the demonstrative system, given that the former expresses a three-way deictic contrast, whereas the latter expresses a two-way deictic contrast.

Chapter 8 examines the Papuan Malay noun phrase. The head of a noun phrase is typically a noun or a personal pronoun. Further, although less common, demonstratives, locatives, or interrogatives can also function as

heads. The canonical word order within the noun phrase is HEAD-MODIFIER. Depending on the syntactic properties of the adnominal constituents, though, a MODIFIER-HEAD order is also common. Attested in the present corpus is the co-occurrence of up to three post-head modifiers.

Chapter 9 describes adnominal possessive relations. In Papuan Malay, adnominal possessive constructions consist of two noun phrases linked with the possessive marker *punya* 'POSS', such that 'POSSESSOR *punya* POSSESSUM'. Possessive constructions with *punya* 'POSS' have a number of different realizations. The possessive marker can be represented with long *punya*, reduced *pu*, clitic =*p*, or a zero morpheme. There are no syntactic or semantic restrictions on the uses of the long and reduced possessive marker forms. By contrast, omission of *punya* only occurs when the possessive construction expresses inalienable possession of body parts or kinship relations. In addition to signaling adnominal possessive relations between two noun phrases, *punya* 'POSS' has a number of derived, non-canonical functions, namely as (1) an emphatic marker of locational relations or relations of association, (2) a marker of beneficiary relations, (3) an attitudinal intensifier or stance, and (4) a ligature in reflexive constructions. The possessor and the possessum can be expressed with different kinds of syntactic constituents, such as lexical nouns, noun phrases, or demonstratives. In addition, personal pronouns can also express the possessor. In non-canonical possessive constructions, verbs can also take the possessor and/or possessum slots. Further, mid-range quantifiers, temporal adverbs, and prepositional phrases can take the possessum slot. In canonical possessive constructions, the possessum can also be omitted. Semantically, the possessor and the possessum can denote human, nonhuman animate, or inanimate referents.

Chapter 10 deals with prepositional phrases in Papuan Malay. They are formed with eleven different prepositions, encoding location in space and time, accompaniment and instruments, goals, benefaction, and comparisons. Prepositional phrases take on different functions within the clause; that is, they can function as peripheral adjuncts, nonverbal predicates, or arguments. They also combine with different types of syntactic constituents, namely nouns, personal pronouns, demonstratives, locatives, and temporal adverbs. The complements of the prepositions take different semantic roles within the clause, depending on the prepositions they are introduced with.

Chapter 11 discusses verbal clauses in Papuan Malay. The most pertinent distinction is that between intransitive and transitive clauses. There is no one-to-one correspondence between valency and transitivity, however, as Papuan Malay verbs allow but do not require core arguments. Trivalent verbs most often occur in monotransitive or intransitive clauses rather than in ditransitive clauses. Along similar lines, bivalent verbs are very commonly used in intransitive clauses. The predicate typically follows the subject and, in transitive clauses, precedes the direct object. In negated verbal clauses, the negator precedes the predicate. Causative clauses are also very common. They are the result of a valency-increasing operation. Papuan Malay causatives are

monoclausal V_1V_2 constructions in which causative V_1 encodes the notion of cause while V_2 expresses the notion of effect. Papuan Malay has two causative verbs which usually produce causer-controlled causatives: trivalent *kasi* 'give', and bivalent *biking* 'make'. While *kasi*-causatives stress the outcome of the manipulation, *biking*-causatives focus on the manipulation of circumstances, which leads to the effect. Another common type of verbal clauses are reciprocal clauses, formed with the reciprocity marker *baku* 'RECP'. In these clauses, two predications are presented as one, with two participants equivalently acting upon each other. In simple reciprocals, both participants are encoded as the clausal subject. In discontinuous reciprocals, the second participant is expressed with a comitative phrase. Both clause types typically result in a reduction in syntactic valency. Also discussed are existential clauses formed with the existential verb *ada* 'exist'. Two clause types can be distinguished: intransitive clauses with one core argument, and transitive clauses with two core arguments. In one-argument clauses, *ada* 'exist' precedes or follows the subject, or theme, depending on its definiteness. Existential clauses express existence, availability, or possession. A final type of verbal clauses discussed in this chapter are degree-marking and identity-marking comparative clauses. Degree-marking clauses denote superiority, inferiority, or superlative. In these clauses, the parameter follows the index, the comparee takes the subject slot, and the optional standard is expressed in a prepositional phrase. Identity-marking clauses designate similarity or dissimilarity. In these constructions, the parameter either precedes the index or is omitted. The comparee takes the subject slot while the standard is usually expressed with a prepositional phrase. In similarity clauses, the standard can also be encoded as the clausal subject together with comparee.

Chapter 12 examines nonverbal clauses in Papuan Malay. The language employs three syntactically distinct types of nonverbal predicate clauses, namely nominal, numeral/quantifier, and prepositional predicate clauses. These clauses are formed by juxtaposition of the two main constituents; no copula intervenes. The three clause types also have distinct semantic functions. Nominal predicates have ascriptive or equative function and also encode possession. Numeral and quantifier predicates have determining function. Prepositional predicates encode locational or nonlocational relations between a figure and the ground.

Chapter 13 describes negative, interrogative, and directive clauses. Negative clauses are formed with the negation adverbs *tida/tra* 'NEG' or *bukang* 'NEG'. Negator *tida/tra* 'NEG' is used for the negation of verbal, existential, and nonverbal prepositional clauses. Negator *bukang* 'NEG' is used to negate nonverbal clauses, other than prepositional ones, and to mark contrastive negation. As for interrogative clauses, three types of clauses can be distinguished: (1) content, or information questions which are formed with interrogatives and which elicit new information, (2) polar questions which elicit yes-no answers, and (3) alternative questions which require the interlocutor to choose the supposedly right answer from a list of possible answers. Directive

clauses in Papuan Malay include imperatives and hortatives, permissions and obligations, and prohibitives. They are used with any kind of predicate.

Chapter 14 discusses the Papuan Malay conjunctions and constituent combining. The conjunctions typically conjoin same-type constituents. Most of them combine clauses with clauses. Only two link different-type constituents, such as verbs with clauses. Typically, the conjunctions occur at the left periphery of the constituent they mark. The 21 conjunctions linking same-type constituents are divided into six groups according to the semantic relations they signal, namely addition, alternative, time and/or condition, consequence, contrast, and similarity. Almost all conjunctions occur in clause-initial position, while only two occur in clause-final position. Typically, the clause marked with a conjunction follows the unmarked clause; only a few conjunctions mark clauses which precede the unmarked clause.

The book closes with a set of appendices which include a 2,215-item wordlist which forms the basis for the phonological analysis in Chapter 2 and a sample of twelve texts, together with detailed metadata for these texts. The appendices are followed by a list of references, English and Dutch summaries of the book, and a brief curriculum vitae of the author.

APPENDICES

This appendix presents a sample of three Papuan Malay texts. Included are a spontaneous conversation, a spontaneous narrative, and an elicited joke. For each text the following meta data are provided: the text type, the interlocutors, and the length (in minutes).

A. CONVERSATION: WANTING BANANAS

Text type: Conversation, spontaneous

Interlocutors: 1 male child, 2 younger females, 2 older females

Length (min.): 0:35

0001 Fanceria: *kecil malam dia menangis pisang goreng*
be.small night 3SG cry banana fry

Fanceria: (this) little (boy Nofi), (last) night he cried (for) fried bananas

0002 Marta: *yo, dong dua deng Wili tu biking*
yes 3PL two with Wili D.DIST make

pusing mama
be.dizzy/confused mother

Marta: yes! he and Wili there worried (their) mother

- 0003 Fanceria: *ay, pisang di sana itu yang mo bli*
aw! banana at L.DIST D.DIST REL want buy

Fanceria: aw! (it was) the bananas (from) over there which (Nofi) wanted to buy

- 0004 Marta: [UP] *ni tra rasa sakit, dapat pukul trus*
D.PROX NEG feel be.sick get hit be.continuous

Marta: [UP] here doesn't feel sick, (he) gets beaten continuously

- 0005 Nofi: *sa pu sribu*
1SG POSS one-thousand

Nofi: (that's) my one thousand (rupiah bill)

- 0006 Fanceria: *yo, ini kertas ((laughter))*
yes D.PROX paper

Fanceria: yes, this is (only) paper (but not money) ((laughter))

- 0007 Nofi: *ko gila ka?*
2SG be.crazy or

Nofi: are you crazy?

- 0008 Nofita: *terlalu nakal ana~ana di sini*
too be.mischievous RED~child at L.PROX

Nofita: (they are) too mischievous the children here

- 0009 Fanceria: *a, Nofi [UP]*
ah! Nofi

Fanceria: ah, Nofi [UP]

- 0010 Marta: [Is]
 Marta: [Is]

- 0011 Fanceria: *mm-mm*
mhm

Fanceria: mhm

- 0012 Marta: *tida ada pisang goreng, menangis pisang goreng*
NEG exist banana fry cry banana fry

Marta: (when) there aren't (any) fried bananas, (then Nofi) cries (for) fried bananas

0013 Fanceria: ((laughter))
Fanceria: ((laughter))

0014 Nofita: *ada pisang goreng, tra maw makang*
 exist banana fry NEG want eat

Nofita: (when) there are fried bananas, (he) doesn't want to eat (them)

0015 Marta: *ada pisang goreng, tida maw makang pisang goreng*
 exist banana fry NEG want eat banana fry

Marta: (when) there are fried bananas, (he) doesn't want to eat fried bananas

0016 Klara: *putar balik, ana kecil itu*
 turn.around turn.around child be.small D.DIST

Klara: (Nofi) constantly changes (his) opinion, that small child

0017 Fanceria: *pisang goreng, pisang Sorong sana tu iii,*
 banana fry banana Sorong L.DIST D.DIST oh

besar~besar manis
RED~be.big be.sweet

Fanceria: fried bananas, those bananas (from) Sorong over there, oooh, (they) are all big (and) sweet

B. NARRATIVE: A MOTORBIKE ACCIDENT

Text type: Elicited text: Personal narrative³

Interlocutors: 2 older males, 3 older females

Length (min.): 10:29

0001 Maria: *saya, Martina, Tinus, kitong*
 1SG Martina Tinus 1PL

Maria: I, Martina, Tinus, we

0002 Hurki: *kitong tiga orang*
 1PL three person

Hurki: we (were) three people

³ The previous evening, the narrator had already told the same story, but due to logistical problems, the author was not able to record the text. The next morning, however, the narrator was willing to retell her story, with the same audience being present.

- 0003 Maria: *tiga orang, tra ada, tra usa*
 three person NEG exist NEG need.to

Maria: three people, no, no need (to mention that)

- 0004 Marta: *kitong tiga orang*
 1PL three person

Marta: we (were) three people

- 0005 Maria: *nene, kitorang tiga orang ((pause)), kitong lari*
 grandmother 1PL three person 1PL run

ke mari sampe di jalangang
 to hither reach at route

Maria: (we) grandmothers, we were three people ((pause)), we drove (along the beach back to Sarmi) here (until we) reached the road (Lit. 'reached the route')

- 0006 Hurki: *sampe di tenga jalang*
 reach at middle walk

Hurki: (until we) reached the middle of the road

- 0007 Maria: *a, hssst, tida bole begitu, itu suda baik*
 ah! shhh! NEG may like.that D.DIST already good

maksut jadi ((laughter))
 purpose so

Maria: ah, shhh!, (you) shouldn't (correct me), that's already good (enough), since the meaning (is already clear) ((laughter))

- 0008 Hurki: *adu, sampe di jalangang*
 oh.no! reach at journey

Hurki: oh boy! '(until we) reached the road' (Literally: 'reached the route')

- 0009 Maria: *ini sampe di jalangang, trus tukang ojek*
 D.PROX reach at road next craftsman motorbike.taxi

ini dia tida liat kolam ini, langsung dia tabrak
 D.PROX 3SG NEG see big.hole D.PROX immediately 3SG hit.against

itu, kolam ke sana, langsung mama jatu
 D.DIST big.hole to L.DIST immediately mother fall

Maria: what's-its-name, until (we) reached the route, then this motorbike taxi driver, he didn't see this big hole, immediately, he hit, what's-its-name, the hole headlong, (and) immediately, I ('mother') fell off

- 0010 *sa jatu ke blakang, Tinus ini de lari trus,*
 1SG fall to backside Tinus D.PROX 3SG run be.continuous
saya suda jatu di blakang, sa jatu begini, langsung
 1SG already fall at backside 1SG fall like.this immediately
sa taguling, sa guling~guling di situ
 1SG be.rolled.over 1SG RED~roll.over at L.MED

I fell off backwards, Tinus here, he continued on, I had already fallen off the back (of the motorbike-taxi), as I fell, I rolled over immediately, I rolled over and over there

- 0011 *Tinus, dorang dua dengang Martina ini, dong dua lari*
 Tinus 3PL two with Martina D.PROX 3PL two run
trus, dong dua lari sampe di kali, baru Martina
 be.continuous 3PL two run reach at river and.then Martina
ini de kas taw sama tukang ojek ini,
 D.PROX 3SG give know to craftsman motorbike.taxi D.PROX
de bilang, a, tukang ojek, itu kitong pu
 3SG say ah! craftsman motorbike.taxi D.DIST 1PL POSS
kawang suda jatu, yang tadi kitong lari ke mari tu
 friend already fall REL earlier 1PL run to hither D.DIST

Tinus, he and Martina here, the two of them drove continuously, the two of them drove on all the way to the river, but then Martina here, she let this motorbike taxi driver know, she said, 'ah, motorbike taxi driver, what's-her-name, our friend already fell off, with whom we were driving here earlier'

- 0012 Nofita: [Is] *ko liat~liat ke sini, baru ko ceritra,*
 2SG RED~see to L.PROX and.then 2SG tell
ceritra, ko ceritra suda [UP]
 tell 2SG tell already

Nofita: [Is] you (have to) look over here, and then you tell the story, tell the story!, just tell the story! [UP]

- 0013 Maria: *yo, biar de juga liat sa ((laughter))*
 yes let 3SG also see 1SG

Maria: yes, (but) let her also see me⁴

- 0014 *skarang tukang ojek ini de pulang*
 now craftsman motorbike.taxi D.PROX 3SG go.home

⁴ The personal pronoun *de* '3SG' refers to the recording author.

lagi sampe di tempat yang dia buang saya
again reach at place REL 3SG discard 1SG

now this motorbike taxi driver, he returned again all the way to the place where he'd thrown me off

- 0015 Iskia: *minta maaf eh?, tolong ceritra tu plang~plang*
request pardon eh? help tell D.DIST RED~be.slow

Iskia: excuse me, eh?, please talk slowly

- 0016 Maria: *de buang saya, trus dorang dua turun dari*
3SG discard 1SG next 3PL two descend from

motor, dorang dua liat sa begini, sa su plaka
motorbike 3PL two see 1SG like.this 1SG already fall.over

ke bawa
to bottom

Maria: he'd thrown me off, then the two of them got off the motorbike, the two of them saw me like this, I had already fallen over to the ground

- 0017 *dong dua bilang, adu kasiang, ko jatu ka?, yo, dorang*
3PL two say oh.no! love-PAT 2SG fall or yes 3PL

dua angkat saya, trus sa tida swara
two lift 1SG next 1SG NEG voice

the two of them said, 'oh no, poor thing!, did you fall?' 'yes', the two of them lifted me, and I couldn't speak (Lit. 'didn't (have) a voice')

- 0018 *dorang dua goyang~goyang saya, dong dua goyang~goyang*
3PL two RED~shake 1SG 3PL two RED~shake

saya, trus sa angkat muka, trus Martina de tanya
1SG next 1SG lift front next Martina 3SG ask

saya, mama ko rasa bagaimana?
1SG mother 2SG feel how

the two of them shook me repeatedly, the two of them shook me repeatedly, then I lifted (my) face, then Martina asked me, 'mother, how do you feel?'

- 0019 *sa bilang begini, sa pusing, mata saya ini*
1SG say like.this 1SG be.dizzy/confused eye 1SG D.PROX

glap, trus Tinus ini de bilang begini sama saya, sa
be.dark next Tinus D.PROX 3SG say like.this to 1SG 1SG

bisa bawa ko ke Webro ka?, trus sa bilang begini,
capable bring 2SG to Webro or next 1SG say like.this

yo, sa jatu, sa rasa kepala pusing, bawa saya ke Webro
yes 1SG fall 1SG feel head be.dizzy bring 1SG to Webro

I said like this, 'I'm dizzy, my eyes here are dark', then Tinus here, he said to me like this, 'can I bring you to Webro?', then I said like this, 'yes, I fell, my head feels dizzy, bring me to Webro'

0020 trus kitorang tiga, kitorang tiga naik di motor, sa di
next 1PL three 1PL three ascend at motorbike 1SG at

blakang, Martina di tenga
backside Martina at middle

then, we three, we three got onto the motorbike, I (was) in the back (and) Martina was in the middle

0021 trus tukang ojek ini de bawa, de bawa
next craftsman motorbike.taxi D.PROX 3SG bring 3SG bring

kitorang menyebrang, menyebrang ka kali, menyebra
1PL cross cross TRU-river river TRU-cross

menyebrang kali
cross river

then this motorbike taxi driver, he took, he took us (and we) crossed, crossed the river[TRU] river, (we) crossed[TRU] crossed the river

0022 sampe di Webro sa pu bapa, sa pu kaka dorang
reach at Webro 1SG POSS father 1SG POSS oSb 3PL

tanya saya, sodara~sodara dorang, knapa?, ko sakit ka?
ask 1SG RED~sibling 3PL why 2SG be.sick or

having arrived in Webro, my father (and) my older siblings asked me, (my) relatives and friends (asked me), 'what happened? are you hurt?'

0023 sa bilang begini, ojek yang buang saya, dong
1SG say like.this motorbike.taxi REL discard 1SG 3PL

bilang, ojek mana?, a, sa pu motor ini,
say motorbike.taxi where ah! 1SG POSS motorbike D.PROX

sa pu tukang ojek yang buang saya,
1SG POSS craftsman motorbike.taxi REL discard 1SG

kurang ajar, kitong pukul dia suda
 lack teach 1PL hit 3SG already

I said like this, 'the motorbike taxi driver threw me off', they said, 'which motorbike taxi?', 'ah, (it's) my motorbike here, (it's) my motorbike taxi driver who threw me off', 'damn him! let us beat him up!'

0024 *trus sa bilang begini, jangang, jangang pukul dia,*
 next 1SG say like.this NEG.IMP NEG.IMP hit 3SG

kasiang, itu manusia, kamorang jangang pukul dia,
 pity D.DIST human.being 2PL NEG.IMP hit 3SG

saya tida mati, saya ada
 1SG NEG die 1SG exist

then I said like this, 'don't, don't beat him!, poor thing, he's a human being, don't beat him, I'm not dead, I'm alive' (Literally: 'I exist')

0025 *trus sa tidor, tidor, dorang dua pulang ke Waim, tukang*
 next 1SG sleep sleep 3PL two go.home to Waim craftsman

ojek sama Martina, dong dua pulang sendiri ke
 motorbike.taxi to Martina 3PL two go.home alone to

Waim, sa tinggal karna sa rasa masi pusing
 Waim 1SG stay because 1SG feel still be.dizzy/confused

then I slept, (I) slept, the two of them went home to Waim, the motorbike taxi driver and Martina, the two of them went home alone to Waim, I stayed (in Webro) because I still felt dizzy

0026 Nofita: *sap badan sakit*
 1SG:POSS body be.sick

Nofita: my body was hurting

0027 Maria: *badan sakit, saya tidor*
 body be.sick 1SG sleep

Maria: (my) body was hurting, I slept

0028 Nofita: *masak air panas*
 cook water be.hot

Nofita: (they) boiled hot water

- 0029 Maria: *masak air panas*
 cook water be.hot

Maria: (they) boiled hot water

- 0030 Nofita: *Roni yang masak air panas*
 Roni REL cook water be.hot

Nofita: (it was) Roni who boiled hot water

- 0031 Maria: *Roni, ana mantri ini, de masak air panas,*
 Roni child male.nurse D.PROX 3SG cook water be.hot

dorang tolong, dorang bawa air, dorang bawa daun,
 3PL help 3PL bring water 3PL bring leaf

baru dorang urut sa deng itu, dong bilang,
 and.then 3PL massage 1SG with D.DIST 3PL say

badang mana yang sakit?
 body where REL be.sick

Maria: Roni, this young male nurse, he boiled hot water, they helped, they brought water, they brought leaves, then they massaged me with those (leaves), they said, 'which (part of your) body is hurting?'

- 0032 *adu, sa pu bahu sakit, sa pu pinggang sakit,*
 oh.no! 1SG POSS shoulder be.sick 1SG POSS loins be.sick

sa pu blakang sakit, trus ana mantri ini, de
 1SG POSS backside be.sick next child male.nurse D.PROX 3SG

urut~urut saya, de pegang~pegang di bahu, de
 RED~massage 1SG 3SG RED~hold at shoulder 3SG

pegang~pegang blakang
 RED~hold backside

'ouch, my shoulder is hurting, my loins are hurting, my back is hurting', then this young male nurse, he massaged me, he massaged (my) shoulder, he massaged (my) back

- 0033 *suda, saya tidor sampe sore, sa pu laki datang,*
 already 1SG sleep until afternoon 1SG POSS husband come

Lukas
 Lukas

eventually I slept until the afternoon, (then) my husband came, Lukas

- 0034 Nofita: *sa pu pacar*
1SG POSS lover

Nofita: my lover

- 0035 Maria: *a ini orang Papua bilang, sa pu laki,*
ah! D.PROX person Papua say 1SG POSS husband

sa pu laki datang, dia bilang, kitong dua pulang,
1SG POSS husband come 3SG say 1PL two go.home

sa tanya, kitong dua pulang ke mana?, pulang ke Waim
1SG ask 1PL two go.home to where go.home to Waim

Maria: ah, this (is what) Papuans say 'my husband', my husband came, he said, 'we two go home', I asked, 'where do we two go home to?', '(we) go home to Waim'

- 0036 *trus kitong dua pulang, sampe di jalangang sa istirahat,*
next 1PL two go.home reach at route 1SG rest

de bilang, kitong dua jalang suda, mata-hari suda
3SG say 1PL two street already sun already

masuk, nanti kitong dua dapat glap, jalang cepat suda
enter very.soon 1PL two get be.dark walk be.fast already

and then we two went home, on the way I rested, he said, 'let the two of us walk (on)! the sun is already going down, in a short while, we'll be in the dark, walk fast already!'

- 0037 *sa dengang pace ini kitong dua jalang, ayo, kitong dua*
1SG with man D.PROX 1PL two walk come.on! 1PL two

jalang cepat, kitong dua jalang cepat, kitong dua jalang,
walk be.fast 1PL two walk be.fast 1PL two walk

sampe di Waim, dorang~dorang di situ, masarakat dong datang
reach at Waim RED~3PL at L.MED community 3PL come

I and the man here, we two walked, 'come on! we two walk fast already!, we two walk fast already!' the two of us walked, having arrived in Waim, all of them there, the whole community came

- 0038 *dong bilang, ibu desa ko jatu ka? yo sa jatu,*
3PL say woman village[SI] 2SG fall or yes 1SG fall

knapa? sa jatu dari motor, ko pu tulang su
why 1SG fall from motorbike 2SG POSS bone already

pata ka? tra ada, kosong, tra ada, tulang tra pata
 break or NEG exist be.empty NEG exist bone NEG break

they said, 'Ms. Mayor, did you fall?', 'yes, I fell', 'what happened?', 'I fell off the motorbike', 'are your bones already broken?', 'no, nothing (like that), no, the bones aren't broken'

0039 *suda, saya sampe, sa tidor, tidor, sa bangun, suda*
 already 1SG reach 1SG sleep sleep 1SG wake.up already

dong bilang
 3PL say

eventually I arrived, I slept, (I) slept, I woke up, then they said

0040 Nofita: *minum obat*
 drink medicine

Nofita: take (your) medicine

0041 Maria: *ko minum obat, suda sa ambil sa pu*
 2SG drink medicine already 1SG fetch 1SG POSS

obat, tulang sakit punya, bahu yang sakit
 medicine bone be.sick POSS shoulder REL be.sick

Maria: 'take (your) medicine!', then I took my medicine for (my) hurting bone, (it was my) shoulder which was hurting (Lit. 'the hurting bone's (medicine)')

0042 *sa minum, sa minum, sampe tenga malam sa minum*
 1SG drink 1SG drink until middle night 1SG drink

lagi, pagi sa bangun, sa makang sago, makang
 again morning 1SG wake.up 1SG eat sago eat

kasbi, sa minum lagi
 cassava 1SG drink again

I took (medicine), I took (medicine), when it was the middle of the night, I took (medicine) again, in the morning I woke up, I ate sago, (I) ate cassava, I took (medicine) again

0043 *trus sa tinggal sampe besok, suda sa rasa badang*
 next 1SG stay until tomorrow already 1SG feel body

suda baik
 already be.good

then I stayed until the next day, by then my body already felt good

0044 *baru sa punya ana ini, mantri, de pi ambil*
and.then 1SG POSS child D.PROX male.nurse 3SG go fetch

saya, kitong dua lari deng motor, dengang Roni, sa pu
1SG 1PL two run with motorbike with Roni 1SG POSS

ana mantri di Jayapura ini
child male.nurse at Jayapura D.PROX

and then, my child here, the male nurse, he came to pick me up, the two of us drove with (his) motorbike, with Roni, my young male nurse from Jayapura

0045 MO: *malam*
night

[A guest arrives] MO: good evening

0046 Maria: *kitorang dua datang sampe di sini, ibu pendeta*
1PL two come reach at L.PROX woman pastor

ini dia tanya, ko jatu ka? yo sa jatu dari motor,
D.PROX 3SG ask 2SG fall or yes 1SG fall from motorbike

kasiang sayang
pity love

the two of us came all the way here, Ms. Pastor here, she asked (me), 'did you fall?', 'yes, I fell off the motorbike', 'poor thing, (my) dear'

0047 *sa tinggal di sini, sa ke ruma-sakit, sa ceritra sama*
1SG stay at L.PROX 1SG to hospital 1SG tell to

dokter, dokter, sa jatu dari motor, dokter dorang bilang
doctor doctor 1SG fall from motorbike doctor 3PL say

begini, ko jatu bagemana?
like.this 2SG fall how

I stayed here, I went to the hospital, I talked to the doctor, 'doctor, I fell off a motorbike', the doctor and his companions said like this, 'how did you fall off?'

0048 *sa bilang, sa jatu balik begini, trus tulang*
1SG say 1SG fall turn.around like.this next bone

pata, sa bilang, tulang bahu yang pata, tulang
break 1SG say bone shoulder REL break bone

rusuk, o, a mama itu hanya ko jatu kaget
 rib oh! ah! mother D.DIST only 2SG fall feel.startled(.by)

I said, 'I fell backwards like this, then the bone broke', I said, '(it's my) shoulder bone which is broken, (my) ribs', 'oh! ah, mother that is just because you're under shock'

0049 *sa bilang begini, adu dokter, ini sa jatu sengsara*
 1SG say like.this oh.no! doctor D.PROX 1SG fall suffer

ini, harus tolong saya, a mama, sa kasi obat,
 D.PROX have.to help 1SG ah! mother 1SG give medicine

mama minum, sa bilang, dokter trima-kasi
 mother drink 1SG say doctor thank.you

I said like this, 'oh no!, doctor, what's-its-name, I fell really painfully, (you) have to help me', 'ah mother, I give (you) medicine (and) you ('mother') take (it)', I said, 'doctor, thank you'

0050 *sa pulang sampe di sini, sa bilang ibu pendeta,*
 1SG go.home reach at L.PROX 1SG say woman pastor

ibu ko kas sa air, sa minum obat, sa tinggal
 woman 2SG give 1SG water 1SG drink medicine 1SG stay

di sini satu minggu, e, dua minggu, baru sa pulang
 at L.PROX one week uh two week and.then 1SG go.home

I went home all the way to here, I told Ms. Pastor, 'Madam, give me water (so that) I (can) take (my) medicine', I stayed here for one week, uh, two weeks, only then did I return home

0051 *sa pulang ke Waim lagi, baru kitorang tinggal, baru*
 1SG go.home to Waim again and.then 1PL stay and.then

sa pu masarakat dong tanya saya, ibu ko su
 1SG POSS community 3PL ask 1SG woman 2SG already

sembu ka? sa bilang, sa su sembu, trima-kasi,
 be.healed or 1SG say 1SG already be.healed thank.you

sampe di sini
 reach at L.PROX

I went home to Waim again, and then we stayed (there), and then my community asked me, 'Madam, have you recovered?', I said, 'I've recovered', thank you!, this is all (Literally: 'reach here')

C. JOKE: DRAWING A MONKEY

Text type: Joke (elicited text)

Interlocutors: 2 younger males

Length (min.): 0:59

- 0001 *skola ini ibu mulai suru ana~ana murid mulai*
 school D.PROX woman start order RED~child pupil start
- gambar monyet di atas pohon pisang, suda, ibu*
 draw monkey at top tree banana already woman
- mulai suru gambar, suda dong mulai, smua dong gambar*
 start order draw already 3PL start all 3PL draw

(in) this school, Ms. (Teacher) starts ordering the school kids to start drawing a monkey on a banana tree, well, Ms. Teacher orders (them to) draw, well, they start, they all draw (a picture)

- 0002 *baru ana kecil satu ini de tra gambar, ana*
 and.then child be.small one D.PROX 3SG NEG draw child
- murid satu ni de tra gambar, suda, begini de*
 pupil one D.PROX 3SG NEG draw already like.this 3SG
- gambar batu, trus de gambar monyet ini di bawa*
 draw stone next 3SG draw monkey D.PROX at bottom
- pohon pisang, begini dong bawa ke depan*
 tree banana like.this 3PL bring to front
- but then this particular small child, he doesn't draw, this particular school kid, he doesn't draw, well, he draws a stone (instead), and then he draws this monkey under the banana tree, it goes on like this (and) they bring (their drawings) to the front

- 0003 *ibu bilang, ibu kalo toki meja langsung kumpul*
 woman say woman if beat table immediately gather
- ke depan, suda pace de pikir~pikir sampe tra*
 to front already man 3SG RED~think reach NEG
- jadi, suda begini langsung i ibu*
 become already like.this immediately TRU-woman woman
- bagi meja, pak!, langsung pace gambar [UP] itu,*
 divide table bang! immediately man draw D.DIST

monyet di bawa pohong pisang, bawa ke sana
 monkey at bottom tree banana bring to L.DIST

Ms. (Teacher) says, 'when I knock (on) the table, (you) bring (your pictures) together to the front immediately', then the guy thinks on and on (but) nothing happens, as it goes on like this immediately Ms.[TRU], Ms. (Teacher) hits the table, 'bang!', immediately the guy draws [UP], what's-its-name, a monkey under a banana tree (and) brings it to the front

0004 *ibu bilang, e, ibu priksa selesay, ibu tanya,*
 woman say uh woman check finish woman ask

ini siapa punya? de bilang, ibu, sa punya,
 D.PROX who POSS 3SG say woman 1SG POSS

de tanya, pace maju ke sana, ibu tanya dia,
 3SG ask man advance to L.DIST woman ask 3SG

knapa ko gambar monyet di bawa pohong pisang?
 why 2SG draw monkey at bottom tree banana

Ms. (Teacher) says, uh, after Ms. (Teacher) has finished checking (the pictures), Ms. (Teacher) asks (them), 'this (picture here), whose is (it)?', he says, 'Madam, (it's) mine', she asks (him), the guy comes to the front, Ms. (Teacher) asks him, 'why did you draw the monkey under the banana tree?'

0005 *de blang, adu ibu, tadi ibu toki meja*
 3SG say oh.no! woman earlier woman beat table

itu yang monyet de jatu dari atas
 D.DIST REL monkey 3SG fall from top

he says, 'oh no!, Madam!, a little bit earlier you ('Madam') knocked on the table, that's why the monkey fell off from the top (of the banana plant)'

ABBREVIATIONS USED

- 1 : first person
- 2 : second person
- 3 : third person
- C : consonant
- D : demonstrative
- DIST : distal
- IMP : imperative
- L : locative
- MED : medial
- NEG : negation, negative

PAT	: patient
PL	: plural
POSS	: possessive
PROX	: proximal
RED	: reduplicant
REL	: relative
SG	: singular
TRU	: truncated
UP	: unclear pronunciation
V	: vowel

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